

E
286
B74
1894

FOURTH OF JULY ORATION



1894

O'NEIL

Cornell University Library

THE GIFT OF

Hon. S. A. Green

A.90662

27/3/96

Cornell University Library

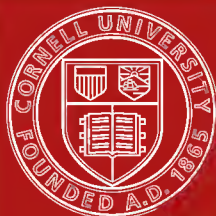
E286 .B74 1894

Oration delivered before the City council



3 1924 032 746 095

olin



Cornell University
Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

<http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924032746095>

ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS

OF

BOSTON

ON THE

ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

JULY 4, 1894

BY

HON. JOSEPH H. O'NEIL

[DOCUMENT 68 — 1894]



BOSTON

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CITY COUNCIL

1894

A.90662

CITY OF BOSTON.

IN BOARD OF ALDERMEN, July 5, 1894.

RESOLVED, That the thanks of the City Council be and hereby are extended to Hon. JOSEPH H. O'NEIL for the eloquent and patriotic oration delivered by him on the Fourth of July, in commemoration of the One Hundred and Eighteenth Anniversary of American Independence, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of the same for publication, and a portrait of himself, to be inserted in said volume.

Adopted unanimously by a rising vote. Sent down for concurrence.

ALPHEUS SANFORD,
Chairman.

IN COMMON COUNCIL, July 19, 1894.
Concurred unanimously by a rising vote.

CHRISTOPHER F. O'BRIEN,
President.

Approved July 23, 1894.

NATHAN MATTHEWS, JR.,
Mayor.

A true copy.

Attest:

JOHN M. GALVIN,
City Clerk.

ORATION.

MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW CITIZENS :

We meet to-day to celebrate the Nation's birthday, to congratulate ourselves and the world on the blessings we enjoy ; to send forth greeting to the people of other lands with the heart-felt wish and hope that they, too, may enjoy the blessings of a free government of the people.

It is a wise custom of the people of this country to hold these yearly meetings, to bring to mind the blessings of a free government ; to call attention to the hardships endured before these blessings became our heritage ; to revive these recollections in order that these rights may be the better appreciated ; to ensure their continuance in the path laid out by the great men who blazed the way, by keeping up the high standard raised by them and transmitted to us, so that we in turn may say to those who are to follow : Behold the standard of the fathers, pure and unsullied as when placed in our hands, we give it to you with no stain upon its folds ; look to it that it be transmitted in like purity to those who come after.

It would be difficult to discover when public meetings were not held in the city of Boston to discuss public measures, because it was believed that a proper understanding among men and nations brings about an opportunity for agreement. It has been believed in all times that a calm discussion of public questions and a commemoration of great events result in a better understanding amongst the people; so that in this city of ours men were wont to meet to consult together, and to protest together, against any infringement of their rights. These meetings, however, had no fixed time for gathering and no great events to commemorate, until the Boston massacre of 1770, when five citizens were killed on King street, now State street, by the British troops stationed in the town. Each recurring anniversary of the massacre was commemorated by the people, to incite them to a realization of their rights and powers. Each year, for thirteen years, this anniversary was celebrated, until in 1783 it gave place to a greater one—that of the day we now celebrate.

The War of the Revolution was over. All-powerful England had been obliged to conclude a treaty of peace with the colonies on the terms proposed by the colonists themselves. The effect of the public meetings called to protest against and denounce the odious writs of assistance to aid the customs officers to collect the imposts of the King, calling forth as they did all

the fire, eloquence, and indignation of an outraged people, constantly grew in effect and force until the whole people felt as one individual in their opposition to the oppression of England. This fire, intensified by the massacre of 1770, culminated at Lexington, where the blood of the people was shed in the cause of human liberty ; Concord and Lexington became sacred ground to the lover of freedom and the people, and a new star of hope appeared in the heavens for the enlightenment of the world, where it shines as a Mecca of hope, bringing welcome to those who choose to come to enjoy its beneficent light. But, more than that, it taught the world's ruler to tremble before the wrath of an outraged people ; and freedom for the world began to don its holiday garb, — for a great blow at human slavery had been struck when American independence was announced.

From the time of the acknowledgment of our independence, to the present day, no break has occurred in the programme of our good city in the celebration of the Nation's birthday as each July 4th comes around ; and each recurring year but adds to the fervent love and veneration we all hold for this the best land under the sun. The best, not alone in what it has done for us, but in the good effect it has had on other lands.

One hundred years ago to-day John Phillips (father of Wendell Phillips, one of Boston's great orators), who

afterwards became the first Mayor of this beloved city, was selected by the town authorities to deliver the annual oration, and in that address he said :

“ The effects of the event we this day commemorate were not confined to our own country, but soon extended across the Atlantic.”

And so its effects have gone rumbling on, shaking the thrones of tyrants, awakening the hearts and lifting up to a higher plane of freedom all civilized people.

From the date of our independence until to-day the world has never seen such progress. Our people, the most intelligent on earth ; our shores, three thousand miles apart, tied by bands of steel and traversed by water arteries ; while the telegraph conducts our thought with almost the rapidity of the mind itself, and the telephone enables us to talk with people one thousand miles away, so that the tales of the Arabian Nights, the wonders of Monte Cristo, and the vivid imaginings of Jules Verne seem but commonplace when viewed in the light of current events.

It was a noble heritage handed down to us ; it should be none the less noble when it leaves our hands and is deposited with those who come after us. The question which should impress itself upon our minds is, How can we best transmit this great heritage to our descendants ?

A distinguished orator has said that “ he knew no

light to guide his footsteps in the future but the light of past experience," and it does seem that, on this day of days to us Americans, nothing better can be done by us than to turn back and examine the lives of the great men who preceded us, and gather wisdom from their acts. Especially is this true to-day, when some people seem to forget the fundamental principles on which this Government rests, and are endeavoring to cure by legislation all the ills which man is heir to, and, instead of relying upon themselves, demanding of the Government the relief which it was never intended it should give. It is true that the friends of a republican form of government may look with fear and trembling at the vast accumulations of wealth which we see being created in this country, and the thought must force itself on reflecting minds, whether the predictions of those who were opposed to a republican form of government in the last century are to become true, when they said "that soon the poor in the United States, worse than another inroad of the Goths and Vandals, would begin a general plunder of the rich;" and it might seem from some of the demands for legislation which are now being made that the great principles on which this Government was created are to be swept away.

The men who framed the Constitution under which we live were opposed then, as we should be opposed now, to too much government. They believed then,

as we should believe now, in the freedom and the independence of the individual under the law. They believed that this independence was the bulwark of the State and the country. It was on that basis they built up the structure we now enjoy, and we should see to it that no addition is made which destroys its harmony or disturbs its foundation.

One hundred and eleven years have rolled away since the acknowledgment of our independence by the world, and during that time many changes have taken place. You have heard the Declaration of Independence read; every school-boy should know it by heart; every school-boy should study the lives of Jefferson, its author; of Sam Adams, its father; of John Adams, the Colossus on the floor of the Continental Congress during its preparation; — and a careful perusal of their lives will make all better citizens and better men.

Read the inaugural address of Jefferson, when he explained the principles of the Constitution to be “equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religion or politics.” Let the men who are to-day engaged in un-American attempts to foster any kind of strife between different classes or creeds in our community post up, where they can be constantly before them, these words of Jefferson, and remember that civil and religious liberty must go hand in hand. One cannot exist without the other, for the death of the one means the destruction of the other.

Let them remember that in the same inaugural address he declared one of the vital principles of our system to be "absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism."

Let them ponder on the life of Sam Adams, the father of the Revolution, the indefatigable worker, to whom more is due than to any one man; a man of the people, who believed in the people, and whose faith in them never faltered. He believed then, as we should believe now, that the people should support the Government, and not, as some would have it, the Government the people. A man of the people himself, a firm believer in them, frowned on by the possessors of wealth, and denounced by the colonial governor of the Commonwealth as belonging to a committee composed of "black-hearted fellows whom he would not choose to meet in the dark."

Despite calumny and poverty, despite the price which was set upon his head, spurning the munificent offers made by the emissaries of the English Government, he never wavered in his fight for the rights of the people; and while he was doing his share in Massachusetts, Thomas Jefferson was doing the same for the people in Virginia. Jefferson, on whose tombstone is written: "Author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the statute of Virginia for

religious freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia." Independence, civil and religious liberty, education for the people, what greater monument could mortal wish?

There never has been any difference amongst the great minds of this land as to the importance and the necessity of freedom, both civil and religious. It was so declared by Lord Baltimore in the Catholic colony of Maryland, where religious freedom was first tolerated in this country, — tolerated at a time when religious prejudices ran high in Europe, and higher still in this country.

The more we study the lives of these men the more we are convinced that they must have been inspired by God to do the work they did, for except we believe in such inspirations how else can we view these remarkable words written by Sam Adams in September, 1773, when he said :

“As the colonies are blessed with the richest treasures of nature, art will never be idle for want of stores to work upon ; and that being instructed by the experience, the wisdom, and even the errors of all ages and all countries, will undoubtedly rise superior to them all in the scale of human dignity, and give to the world new and bright examples of everything which can add lustre to humanity. No people that ever trod the stage of the world have had so glorious prospects as now rise before the Americans ;” and only three

years later Jefferson said: "No age will ever come when it will cease to be seen and felt on either continent that a mighty step, a great advance, not only in American affairs, but in human affairs, was made on the 4th of July, 1776."

How well the prophecies of these famous men have been fulfilled, let us who stand here more than a century afterwards tell. A country at that time of scarcely three million souls, now numbers sixty-eight millions. A narrow strip of land on the Atlantic coast, our country then, now stretching from ocean to ocean, and from lake to gulf. This, too, in spite of the fact that great men who have come after them, — men whom we are taught to revere, and do revere, — have protested over and over again against the acquisition of territory. Webster protested against the addition of Texas because the country was already large enough. Benton, and most of the statesmen of his day, against the extension of the country beyond the Rocky Mountains, "for," said he, "God in His wisdom has erected those mountains as a natural boundary for the Republic;" and yet we have gone on extending our territory, lifting up our people, educating them, growing in wealth and population, notwithstanding the doleful tones we hear from those who would try and profit by the misfortunes of their Government. In spite of the depression of the times, we are in better financial condition and more prosperous to-day than any nation on earth.

So that it is our duty to see what can be done to add to the structure handed down. If any dangers exist to the body politic, remove them; if any evils exist, remedy them. That dangers exist, no one doubts; danger exists to man as well as to nations. A gust of wind may blow a portion of the roof of a building down on our heads as we walk the streets, and may prostrate us on the ground; something may happen in this great Republic of ours which human mind cannot foresee which might destroy the structure of a century, but we all know the experience of the past, — hope for the future, and, trusting in God, believe in the future glory of the Republic. We do not believe that present dangers seriously threaten a country which withstood the jealousies that originated after a seven years' war with the most powerful nation on earth; which has prospered, notwithstanding violent party dissensions in the past; which has withstood two foreign wars and one great civil war; which has seen a President of the United States elected by Congress and not by the people, and two Presidents die by the hand of assassins. We do not believe that the words of Montesquieu will become true of this country, that "if a republic is small, it is destroyed by a foreign power; if it is large, it is destroyed by internal disorder." No people on earth have ever shown in the time of trial and tribulation the great moral courage and good sense which has been time and again shown

by the American people; and experience has proven this wonderful courage and good sense by the fact that no party and no man in this country can take the wrong side of a moral question and not meet sooner or later certain defeat and condemnation by the people. The people mean to be right, — they are not always right, but are seldom wrong, — and bound to remedy a mistake when they see it.

Who does not remember the words of Webster put into the mouth of John Adams? “The people, if we are true to them, will be true to us, and will carry us gloriously through this struggle;” and in these days, when we see some signs of internal disorder, caused by industrial depression, it may worry some people and cause them to believe that these signs presage danger to, if not the dissolution of, the Republic.

Those who remember the trying times of '61 and '62, when the people of the North were unwilling to believe that real war was upon them, — but when they found that it was on, how grandly and nobly they rallied, forgetting party affiliations, for the defence of the general Government, — will feel assured that the good sense and love of law and order shown by the people in '61, will be displayed again to-day whenever they believe that the country is really in danger. That the country is in an unsettled condition no one can deny, but that it is in a dangerous condition no real American will admit.

It is true that the people are disturbed when they see

vast fortunes accumulated almost in a day. When they see corporations with capitalizations going up into the hundreds of millions, until the figures appall the ordinary mind. That something must be done to remedy this great increase of fictitious wealth,—for much of it is fictitious,—to remedy the power of corporate interests, is unquestionably one of the problems of the times. It is claimed by some that this can only be done by Government ownership of these vast corporations; but once this step is taken, where will it stop? What will become of the boasted independence of the individual? It is true that these things ought not exist, and yet the cause of them is not hard to find. We have gone through a period in the history of this country which threatened the entire dissolution of our fabric of government. We found one section of the country arrayed in civil war against the other section. The times called for men of strong character and powerful determination; men of action rather than of thought; men who were not called upon to carefully measure the future consequences of their acts, except so far as they aided for the time being in preserving the unity of the Government. These strong men, used as they were to manage the Government, began to manage their private concerns in the same way, and being in position to call the Government to their aid, by its assistance were enabled to receive vast profits on their accumulated wealth. The times called for rapid

development, and enormous advantages were given to capitalists by means of which the most fabulous fortunes were accumulated. No one denies the necessity by legislation to curtail the powers of corporate wealth, and yet he who believes in the good sense of the American people cannot but think that a short time will remedy these evils. Our people, the most intelligent on earth, are already discussing these questions; and the result of their deliberations will unquestionably crystallize into laws, that corporations may be placed on the same plane of business on which the individual stands. But it is only by law and by orderly methods it can be done, by respecting the maxim laid down by Jefferson : of absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority as expressed at the ballot-box, and nowhere else. No one doubts that we have too many corporations in our ordinary business affairs. No one doubts that this evil is spreading rather than diminishing. Men who have been enabled by the conditions of the times to amass vast fortunes in this country which are the wonder of the civilized world, find themselves to-day anxious to preserve that property and transmit it to their children. They are unwilling to risk it as they do in individual enterprises, so that every day we see the incorporation of business houses with limited capital, rather than the preservation of the individual effort. While this is a step in the wrong direction, yet in these private corporations it remedies

itself; for if the enterprise be capitalized in excess of its proper valuation, competition enters in and compels a reduction of the capitalization, a reduction of the profits, or else bankruptcy.

Again, it is a well-known fact that the incorporating of these business concerns, while prosperous for a day, does not last in competition with the private concerns; for the man who wishes to avoid the risk of losing all his money, and forms a stock company of his business, in which he places part of his capital and elects himself to a lucrative position, gives four hours a day where he was in the habit of giving eight when run by him personally; elegant leisure takes the place of diligent attendance; a few years of apparent prosperity, and the bubble bursts, and the creditors are settled with at a fraction for each dollar of indebtedness. So it is with the great trusts and corporations which we are told menace the safety of the Republic to-day. The men who manage these gigantic corporations are the same class of men, brought forward by the necessity of war to take great risks and manage great enterprises. The history of the world shows that energy and enterprise cannot be transmitted from generation to generation. The necessity of the occasion which compels these men to put the energy and the vitality into the organization and construction of so large a business disappears with the next generation, which finds it already created. The individual attention and individual interest

of the merchant is not given to it; again the bubble bursts, and the general results that have accrued from this vast amalgamated capital in the invention and introduction of the machinery which reduces the cost of manufacture to a minimum is thrust on the markets of the world, and once more individual competition has an opportunity of contesting for the business of the world; good has come once more out of evil, and the wealth accumulated by one generation is distributed by the succeeding one. If, however, legislation can reach these gigantic corporations it should be had. Some means should be taken which would squeeze the water out of their capitalizations; and if these gigantic monopolies are to be tolerated at all, they should only be tolerated on the basis of actual cash paid in for the construction of their enterprises. We have seen great railroad enterprises financed in such a way as to call for the admiration of all men in the railroad world; yet an investigation of this financing will show that it has only been done by scaling down the fixed charges, reducing the interest on its debt, and offering as a bonus increased burdens upon the road itself in the shape of additional stock, though the value of the road has not been increased. Our railroads all over the country are capitalized away and beyond their actual value to-day. This is a proper subject for legislation. This is one of the problems that ought be met, — this is an object

worthy of the enlightened understanding of the best statesmen in the land. Let the water be squeezed out. Capital is entitled to a fair return on the money invested; it is not entitled to increase the capitalization of any of its projects beyond its actual value to a point which it is hoped will pay by the growth of the country in the years to come. This is a menace; it is not a danger. It is a question which the good sense of the American people will remedy in time, and if, as is claimed, they control legislation, make that impossible.

People are apt to talk too loosely about corruption in our public affairs. Some of it does exist, but not nearly so much as is talked of. Judas was bribed centuries ago to betray the Saviour of the world. Men who have come on earth since his day are no less human, and while man peoples the earth there will always be sin and sorrow. If anything can be done to cure this corruption it should be done; but it never can be while the law makes the giver and the taker of a bribe equally guilty, for it creates a bond of mutual protection which defeats the very object of the law. Make the law against bribery applicable only to the giver of the bribe, holding the taker harmless,—the bond is severed, and bribery will almost totally cease; for no one will take the risk not only of losing the corruption money but his liberty as well.

Nor is that other problem held up by some — immi-

gration — a real danger to this country. Immigration in all times has been held to be a healthy stimulus to the growth of the country. We are not like some countries of the world, so crowded that increased population becomes dangerous. This great country of ours is in fact hardly settled, and it would be well in this connection to remember that in the Declaration of Independence read to you to-day one of the causes of the revolt against the English king was, as set forth in that declaration, “that he had endeavored to prevent the population of these States, for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.” So that when the fathers made this declaration they were not opposed to, nor did they fear, immigration from the Old World. And in order that it might be the better understood by the civilized world, after they had issued their embargo against any trade or commerce with England or her possessions, and to set themselves right in regard to this question of immigration, they issued on the 28th of July, 1775, an address to the people of Ireland, in which they said :

“ You have ever been friendly to the rights of mankind, and we acknowledge with pleasure and gratitude that your nation has produced men of very noble distinction themselves in the cause of humanity and

America. On the other hand, we are aware that the labor and manufacture of Ireland, like those of the silk-worm, are of little moment to herself, but serve only to give luxury to those who neither toil nor spin.

“We perceived that if we continued our commerce with you, our agreement not to import from Great Britain would be fruitless, and were therefore compelled to adopt a measure to which nothing but absolute necessity would have reconciled us. It gave us, however, some consolation to reflect, that should it occasion much distress, the fertile regions of America would afford you a safe asylum from poverty, and in time from oppression also; an asylum in which thousands of your countrymen have found hospitality, peace, and affluence, and become united to us by all the ties of consanguinity, mutual interest, and affection.”

Just as they were not opposed to immigration then, so should we be not opposed to proper immigration now. If all the population of the United States were put into the great State of Texas there would, according to the Census of 1890, be but 260 people to the square mile, allowing about two and one-half acres to each man, woman, and child; while in England and Wales there are 498, in Belgium, 548, and in Saxony, 600 people to the square mile. In the United States there were but 21 people to the square mile by the last census, while on the whole continent of Europe there were 101.

Even at the rate we are going on with immigration, centuries must elapse before our population can reach anywhere near the crowded condition of some of the European countries; but, long before that time has come, let us hope that we shall see the North American continent, with the great area of Canada on the north and Mexico on the south, united under one flag as one people.

All people agree that criminal immigration should not be tolerated, that we ought not allow paupers to be transported to our shores, and that those who are not mentally sound should be prohibited from coming here.

But this country was settled by immigrants from other lands. Not from one country alone, for we must not forget that in these several colonies we had in these early days the French to the north of us, and the Dutch to the south of us; that we had the Scotch in North Carolina, the French in Georgia, and the Spanish in Florida.

We have grown up together until it has been well said that this country has become the smelting furnace of the world, into which the desirable immigration from all the other countries is placed—combining the perseverance of the Yankee with the commercial knowledge of the Israelite, the indomitable courage of the English and the enthusiasm of the Pole, the elegance of the Spaniard and the

eloquence of the Irish, the poetry of the Italian and the education of the German, the vivacity of the French and the common sense of the Scotch, the daring of the Scandinavian and the contentment of the Dutch, and coming out in the progress of time amalgamated into what we hope it may please God to be the perfect man.

Let us not forget that, when these cries are raised for more and more legislation to elevate our institutions, progress never yet came from the enactment of laws, but rather from their repeal; that reforms are demanded to remove barriers and not to construct them; that man should be taught to depend upon himself and not the Government. And again let it be repeated that the people should support the Government, and not the Government the people. It was against laws enacted by the British Parliament that the fathers of the Revolution protested, and it was the repeal of those laws which they demanded. So that to-day we need not more legislation, but a broader and more complete understanding of the principles on which this Government rests; a wider appreciation of the rapid growth which has taken place in this country within a hundred years. When one recollects that a hundred and eighteen years ago the Indians were used as allies by the English to subjugate the colonies, that one of the first acts of the Continental Congress was to establish trading-posts with the Indians at Albany

and Schenectady, in New York, some idea of the vast, rapid growth we have acquired may be appreciated by the people ; and as the overgrown child needs watchful care by the parent to preserve its health, so this great land of ours, outstripping in growth the wildest imaginings of men, needs to-day not a free rein, but rather a curb on legislation to prevent its growing in the wrong direction.

Let us welcome to our shores all those proper people who desire to become citizens of our country, for every immigrant that comes here and partakes of the blessings of our free institutions, no matter how ignorant he may be when he arrives, one 4th of July such as we have here to-day, opens his eyes to the blessings of a freedom which he can never have enjoyed across the water, and the next mail carries the message to the people across the sea of the greatness, grandeur, and glories of this Republic. That message circulated and distributed in the locality from whence he comes, educates and enlightens the people of that community, and the great effect of such beneficent institutions helps not here alone, but all over the civilized world. But while we welcome proper immigrants to our shores, notice should be served in unqualified terms on all foreign countries that we will not tolerate the unloading on our shores of their criminals, paupers, or idiots ; that this country is neither a penal colony, an almshouse, nor an idiotic asylum, but a land where honest,

law-abiding people, able to support themselves and appreciate and uphold our institutions, are welcome, and where none others are wanted, — nor will they be accepted. We are not a dumping-ground for the cast-off population of Europe, but our doors should be wide open to those who desire to enjoy the liberty denied them in the land of their birth.

Here in this great country, cosmopolitan in its character, we have no room for prejudice to govern, but broad, liberal, enlightened sentiment. Intolerance and intemperance have no room in this land of ours. They come like the summer showers, but they go like the mist before the sun. They are the mild diseases which affect the system of the Republic, just as the inclemency of the weather may affect the physical condition of the man ; but when the broad sunlight of God sheds its glorious light upon man or the people, intolerance and bigotry must give away before the doctrines of the men who, like Jefferson and Adams, demanded freedom, civil and religious liberty. Let us upon this day remember that this great Government of ours was founded on absolute confidence in the people. No man can succeed in public life who has not that great faith in them, nor can this government hope to prosper once it falters in its faith in the people. Let those sceptics who believe this immigration is dangerous — because they who have for one generation controlled public affairs have been compelled to give way to another

generation who have become more numerous — but attend a public theatre when a patriotic play is being performed, and they will find that any allusion to the name of Washington brings forth a tumult of applause, that the sight of the American flag causes the audience to shout with enthusiasm, and that the name of the martyred Lincoln is appreciated and honored by plaudits that make the welkin ring. From whom come these plaudits? From the wealthy occupants of the orchestra chairs, or the less wealthy occupants of the balcony? Not at all; but away up in the dome of the theatre, filled, if you please, with the gamins of the street, with the children of the poorer people, or, as some people would put it, the children of the dangerous classes, the children of the plain people, — these are the young patriots of to-day, who, when the flag of their country is in danger, will rally to its support and defend it with their lives. There is no danger to this Republic. Troubles there may be, but we have only to disseminate knowledge amongst the people, and there can be no danger. Let us never forget that knowledge is power; that truth sets men free, and that if we but take care of the education of the people, the people will take care of the perpetuity of the Republic. Some people think that we are in danger from the power of the press. There is no danger in this country from that. Time was when the editorial columns of the newspaper could control public opinion, but that day

has gone ; the strides which the people of this country have taken in education and intelligence have been so rapid that to-day's editorials in the newspapers are passed calmly by, or read only to see whether the opinions agree with those of the reader. The people read the news and judge for themselves, so that it is not now to the editor we need appeal to guard the interests of the people. But we have a right to demand such patriotism from those who furnish the news, that they shall realize the great responsibility which rests upon them ; that they see to it a high standard is maintained, for it is from what they publish in the paper to-day that people make up their verdict on public questions. They should see to it that patriotism should be their guiding star, and while unflinching in their determination to expose fraud, to punish corruption, and to do everything to elevate America and Americans, they should remember at the same time not to inculcate in the minds of their readers a feeling of contempt either for the Government or for the Government's servants, but rather a sentiment of love and loyalty for the institutions of the country, and respect for those who administer them.

Let us, then, not feel alarmed for the safety of the Republic or its prosperity. We are now suffering, it is true, from the weakness the nation inherited from its abnormal growth of the past thirty years ; that

weakness cannot be cured by additional legislation. It can only be cured by impressing on the people the lessons taught us by the great men of the Revolution, that freedom for the individual is the life of the nation. How many people have ever calculated the limit which is demanded by these people who demand governmental support? Have they ever thought how long a republic could last which was based on such a system? This Government is not, and should not be, a paternal government. When it becomes that, then the ambition of the individual and hope for the nation ceases; because if the Government is expected to support the people, man will not be compelled to labor, and need have no ambition to better his condition. If all the great enterprises of the land are to be maintained by the Government, and an enormous civil list thereby created, what opportunity for advancement is there for the boys of the coming generation? It is difficult now for a boy, even with some advantages, to make progress in the world. Take away from him the necessity for making his way, remove his ambition to rise to a higher sphere in life, and the decadence of this Government has already begun. The hope of advancement, the desire for a higher station, a broader field of usefulness, are the hope of this Republic in the future, just as they are the mainspring of the individual, and the cause of the wonderful prosperity and remarkable progress we have

made in the eleven decades of our national life. Take them away, remove all ambition from the mind of the young, endeavor to make this a paternal Government, progress and energy will cease, socialism and paternalism step in, and dissolution and disruption must inevitably follow. The man struggling for a livelihood becomes a better citizen when he owns a little home, takes a greater interest in the affairs of the Government, and helps lift up the average of his immediate neighborhood. There are those who live to decry our American institutions, who love to declare that things are not as they were; but when one reads the history of his country, and of the bickerings and jealousies that took place during the Revolution, which had to be conciliated in order to advance the welfare of the country; when we remember the party factions and bitter personal feuds that have existed during all these long years of the Republic, and remember that now the years of time have waved the clouds away from all these things, and look at the men as they stand exposed to view by their public acts, we are able to-day to love and venerate the memory of Jefferson and the Adamses, Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Benton, and all the great men who have gone before us in the earlier days of the Republic.

Let us, then, on this anniversary of our birth as a nation, resolve to do what we can to incite patriotism and love of country amongst our fellow-men.

Let us incite in them a love of country, coupled with respect for all our institutions. Let us educate the people to respect themselves by respecting those who represent them, and so lift up to a higher plane the people of our common country, confident, as we should be, that by so doing we are lifting up and elevating the whole civilized world.

Here in Massachusetts, where the first seeds of the Revolution were sown, where the first blood was shed, where the first common school was established, and universal education was insisted on as necessary for the preservation of the State, where the Father of the Revolution, Sam Adams, breathed again and again into the world his faith and belief in the people, let us resolve to imitate his example, and declare our firm faith and confidence in them also. In adversity and trial they have shown their patriotism in the past, and in the future they will not be found wanting.

Let us, then, lift up our hearts to God for all the blessings He has bestowed upon us. Let us beg of Him to pour forth His grace into the hearts of all our fellow-citizens, that as they love and venerate Him for His blessings, they may also love and respect the blessings themselves.

Then may we, too, welcome the advance of future generations with implicit confidence in the future of our country, and the belief that while we have had great trials in the past, and must have more in the

future, we should remember that, tried by fire and purified of low desire, our spirit shall but soar the higher ; and that all these things, let us hope, are but the preparations which God in His wisdom is making to bring about the day when the people of this continent, educated, enlightened, and advanced, may be united in love of America under one flag, having for their motto that hope of every lover of his land — “One Flag and One Country.”

A LIST
OF
BOSTON MUNICIPAL ORATORS.

By C. W. ERNST.

BOSTON ORATORS.

APPOINTED BY THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES.

For the Anniversary of the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770.

NOTE. — The Fifth-of-March orations were published in handsome quarto editions, now very scarce; also, collected in book form, in 1785, and again in 1807. The oration of 1776 was delivered in Watertown.

- 1771. — LOVELL, JAMES.
 - 1772. — WARREN, JOSEPH.
 - 1773. — CHURCH, BENJAMIN.
 - 1774. — HANCOCK, JOHN.^a
 - 1775. — WARREN, JOSEPH.
 - 1776. — THACHER, PETER.
 - 1777. — HICHBORN, BENJAMIN.
 - 1778. — AUSTIN, JONATHAN WILLIAMS.
 - 1779. — TUDOR, WILLIAM.
 - 1780. — MASON, JONATHAN, JUN.
 - 1781. — DAWES, THOMAS, JUN.
 - 1782. — MINOT, GEORGE RICHARDS.
 - 1783. — WELSH, THOMAS.
-

For the Anniversary of National Independence, July 4, 1776.

NOTE. — A collected edition, or a full collection, of these orations has not been made. For the names of the orators, as officially printed on the title pages of the orations, see the Municipal Register of 1890.

- 1783. — WARREN, JOHN.¹
 - 1784. — HICHBORN, BENJAMIN.
-

^a Reprinted in Newport, R.I., 1774, 8vo, 19 pp.

¹ Reprinted in Warren's Life. The orations of 1783 to 1786 were published in large quarto; the oration of 1787 appeared in octavo; the oration of 1788 was printed in small quarto; all succeeding orations appeared in octavo, with the exceptions stated under 1863 and 1876.

1785. — GARDINER, JOHN.
1786. — AUSTIN, JONATHAN LORING.
1787. — DAWES, THOMAS, JUN.
1788. — OTIS, HARRISON GRAY.
1789. — STILLMAN, SAMUEL.
1790. — GRAY, EDWARD.
1791. — CRAFTS, THOMAS, JUN.
1792. — BLAKE, JOSEPH, JUN.²
1793. — ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY.²
1794. — PHILLIPS, JOHN.
1795. — BLAKE, GEORGE.
1796. — LATHROP, JOHN, JUN.
1797. — CALLENDER, JOHN.
1798. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.^{2, 3}
1799. — LOWELL, JOHN, JUN.²
1800. — HALL, JOSEPH.
1801. — PAINE, CHARLES.
1802. — EMERSON, WILLIAM.
1803. — SULLIVAN, WILLIAM.
1804. — DANFORTH, THOMAS.²
1805. — DUTTON, WARREN.
1806. — CHANNING, FRANCIS DANA.⁴
1807. — THACHER, PETER.^{2, 5}
1808. — RITCHIE, ANDREW, JUN.²
1809. — TUDOR, WILLIAM, JUN.²
1810. — TOWNSEND, ALEXANDER.
1811. — SAVAGE, JAMES.²

² Passed to a second edition.

³ Delivered another oration in 1826. Quincy's oration of 1798 was reprinted, also, in Philadelphia.

⁴ Not printed.

⁵ On February 26, 1811, Peter Thacher's name was changed to Peter Oxenbridge Thacher. (List of Persons whose Names have been Changed in Massachusetts, 1780-1892, p. 21.)

1812. — POLLARD, BENJAMIN.⁴
1813. — LIVERMORE, EDWARD ST. LOE.
1814. — WHITWELL, BENJAMIN.
1815. — SHAW, LEMUEL.
1816. — SULLIVAN, GEORGE.²
1817. — CHANNING, EDWARD TYRREL.
1818. — GRAY, FRANCIS CALLEY.
1819. — DEXTER, FRANKLIN.
1820. — LYMAN, THEODORE, JUN.
1821. — LORING, CHARLES GREELY.²
1822. — GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN.
1823. — CURTIS, CHARLES PELHAM.²
1824. — BASSETT, FRANCIS.
1825. — SPRAGUE, CHARLES.⁶
1826. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.⁷
1827. — MASON, WILLIAM POWELL.
1828. — SUMNER, BRADFORD.
1829. — AUSTIN, JAMES TRECOTHICK.
1830. — EVERETT, ALEXANDER HILL.
1831. — PALFREY, JOHN GORHAM.
1832. — QUINCY, JOSIAH, JUN.
1833. — PRESCOTT, EDWARD GOLDSBOROUGH.
1834. — FAY, RICHARD SULLIVAN.
1835. — HILLARD, GEORGE STILLMAN.
1836. — KINSMAN, HENRY WILLIS.
1837. — CHAPMAN, JONATHAN.
1838. — WINSLOW, HUBBARD. "The Means of the Perpetuity and Prosperity of our Republic."
1839. — AUSTIN, IVERS JAMES.

⁴ Six editions up to 1831. Reprinted also in his *Life and Letters*.

⁷ Reprinted in his *Municipal History of Boston*. See 1798.

1840. — POWER, THOMAS.
1841. — CURTIS, GEORGE TICKNOR. “The True Uses of American Revolutionary History.”⁸
1842. — MANN, HORACE.⁹
1843. — ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS.
1844. — CHANDLER, PELEG WHITMAN. “The Morals of Freedom.”
1845. — SUMNER, CHARLES.¹⁰ “The True Grandeur of Nations.”
1846. — WEBSTER, FLETCHER.
1847. — CARY, THOMAS GREAVES.
1848. — GILES, JOEL. “Practical Liberty.”
1849. — GREENOUGH, WILLIAM WHITWELL. “The Conquering Republic.”
1850. — WHIPPLE, EDWIN PERCY.¹¹ “Washington and the Principles of the Revolution.”
1851. — RUSSELL, CHARLES THEODORE.
1852. — KING, THOMAS STARR. “The Organization of Liberty on the Western Continent.”¹²
1853. — BIGELOW, TIMOTHY.¹³
1854. — STONE, ANDREW LEETE.²
1855. — MINER, ALONZO AMES.
1856. — PARKER, EDWARD GRIFFIN. “The Lesson of '76 to the Men of '56.”

⁸ Delivered another oration in 1862.

⁹ There are five editions; only one by the City.

¹⁰ Passed through three editions in Boston and one in London, and was answered in a pamphlet, *Remarks upon an Oration delivered by Charles Sumner* . . . , July 4th, 1845. By a Citizen of Boston. See *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, by Edward L. Pierce, vol. ii. 337-384.

¹¹ There is a second edition. (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields. 1850. 49 pp. 12°.)

¹² First published by the City in 1892.

¹³ This and a number of the succeeding orations, up to 1861, contain the speeches, toasts, etc., of the City dinner usually given in Faneuil Hall on the Fourth of July.

1857. — ALGER, WILLIAM ROUNSEVILLE.¹⁴ “The Genius and Posture of America.”
1858. — HOLMES, JOHN SOMERS.²
1859. — SUMNER, GEORGE.¹⁵
1860. — EVERETT, EDWARD.
1861. — PARSONS, THEOPHILUS.
1862. — CURTIS, GEORGE TICKNOR.⁸
1863. — HOLMES, OLIVER WENDELL.¹⁶
1864. — RUSSELL, THOMAS.
1865. — MANNING, JACOB MERRILL. “Peace under Liberty.”
1866. — LOTHROP, SAMUEL KIRKLAND.
1867. — HEPWORTH, GEORGE HUGHES.
1868. — ELIOT, SAMUEL. “The Functions of a City.”
1869. — MORTON, ELLIS WESLEY.
1870. — EVERETT, WILLIAM.
1871. — SARGENT, HORACE BINNEY.
1872. — ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, JUN.
1873. — WARE, JOHN FOTHERGILL WATERHOUSE.
1874. — FROTHINGHAM, RICHARD.
1875. — CLARKE, JAMES FREEMAN.

¹⁴ Probably four editions were printed in 1857. (Boston: Office Boston Daily Bee. 60 pp.) Not until November 22, 1864, was Mr. Alger asked by the City to furnish a copy for publication. He granted the request, and the first official edition (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1864. 53 pp.) was then issued. It lacks the interesting preface and appendix of the early editions.

¹⁵ There is another edition. (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1859. 69 pp.) A third (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, 1882. 46 pp.) omits the dinner at Faneuil Hall, the correspondence and events of the celebration.

¹⁶ There is a preliminary edition of twelve copies. (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1863. (7), 71 pp.) It is “the first draft of the author’s address, turned into larger, legible type, for the sole purpose of rendering easier its public delivery.” It was done by “the liberality of the City Authorities,” and is, typographically, the handsomest of these orations. This resulted in the large-paper 75-page edition, printed from the same type as the 71-page edition, but modified by the author. It is printed “by order of the Common Council.” The regular edition is in 60 pp., octavo size.

1876. — WINTHROP, ROBERT CHARLES.¹⁷
1877. — WARREN, WILLIAM WIRT.
1878. — HEALY, JOSEPH.
1879. — LODGE, HENRY CABOT.
1880. — SMITH, ROBERT DICKSON.¹⁸
1881. — WARREN, GEORGE WASHINGTON. "Our Republic — Liberty and Equality Founded on Law."
1882. — LONG, JOHN DAVIS.
1883. — CARPENTER, HENRY BERNARD. "American Character and Influence."
1884. — SHEPARD, HARVEY NEWTON.
1885. — GARGAN, THOMAS JOHN.
1886. — WILLIAMS, GEORGE FREDERICK.
1887. — FITZGERALD, JOHN EDWARD.
1888. — DILLAWAY, WILLIAM EDWARD LOVELL.
1889. — SWIFT, JOHN LINDSAY.¹⁹ "The American Citizen."
1890. — PILLSBURY, ALBERT ENOCH. "Public Spirit."
1891. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.²⁰ "The Coming Peace."
1892. — MURPHY, JOHN ROBERT.
1893. — PUTNAM, HENRY WARE. "The Mission of our People."
1894. — O'NEIL, JOSEPH HENRY.

¹⁷ There is a large-paper edition of fifty copies printed from this type, and also an edition from the press of John Wilson & Son, 1876. 55 pp. 8°.

¹⁸ On Samuel Adams, a statue of whom, by Miss Anne Whitney, had just been completed for the City. A photograph of the statue is added.

¹⁹ Contains a bibliography of Boston Fourth of July orations, from 1783 to 1889, inclusive, compiled by Lindsay Swift, of the Boston Public Library.

²⁰ Reprinted by the American Peace Society.

•

•

